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Joint UNECE/EUROSTAT/ILO Seminar
on the quality of work
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Topic 2: Measuring the dimensions of quality of work with statistical indicators: current national experiences, relevance and usability of the proposed set of statistical indicators and sources of data collection

**BALANCING WORK AND FAMILY LIFE
IN THE ISRAELI LABOR MARKET**

Invited paper by Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel*

ABSTRACT

1. Quality in work is essential for progress toward full employment, improving mobility from long-term unemployment to employment stability in Labour Market. The European Commission identified 10 major dimensions of quality of work, corresponding to 31 statistical indicators. This study was carried out in order to show the importance of the indicators of Social Protection Dimensions of quality in work in the case of Israel, with emphasis on the indicators of balancing work and family life. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the importance of giving an opportunity to vulnerable groups, such as single mothers, to entry the labour market. This study also tests the possibilities for participation and employment for single mothers, in comparison to married mothers. Changes in the government policy have a significant influence on people's balance between work and family life and on the behaviour of single mothers in the labour market. Balancing of family life with career is an important issue for men too. The attention was focused on the population in the Israeli Labour Market, mainly male, that usually work 50 hours and over a week. The obtained results show the absence of significant differences between the satisfaction from a job of persons employed 50 hours and over per week, and those employed fewer numbers of hours. The present study supports the hypothesis that long working hours are related to high levels of human capital. No strong relation of this type was observed in the case of excessive hours of work for economic reasons.

* Paper has been prepared by Alona Shemesh.

I. BACKGROUND

2. Quality in work is essential for progress towards full employment, improving mobility from long-term unemployment to employment stability in Labour Market. The European Commission identified ten major dimensions of quality of work, corresponding to 31 statistical indicators. One of the important dimensions of quality of work is social protection. Adequate social protection provides sustained economic growth and social development. Social protections policy is especially concerned about the poorest and most vulnerable population, such as old age pensioners, single parents, unemployed, invalids and other.

This study was carried out in order to show the importance of the indicators of the Social Protection Dimensions of quality of work (see Table 1), with emphasis on the indicators of Balancing work and family life.

Table 1: Proposed indicators of Social Protection Dimensions

Quality in work	Indicator
Balancing work and family life	Employment rate for women with children under compulsory school age to the employment rate for all women aged 20-49.
	Excessive hours of work (share of persons working 49 hrs and more per week)
Social security	Public social security expenditure
	Public expenditure on need-based cash income support
	Beneficiaries of cash income support
	Old age without pension (share of not economically active population 65 years old and over without pension)
	Share of economically active population contributing to a pension fund
	Average monthly pension
Safe work	Share of employed persons who receive paid annual leave
	Fatal injury rate
	Labour Inspection (the number of labour inspectors per 100,000 employees or covered employees)
	Occupational injury insurance coverage
	Hazardous occupations rate
	Percentage of workers who feel their health or safety is at risk

3. Since the work is a major part of life in terms of total time, reconciling work and family life has become a fundamental dimension of the quality of life. Balance between work and family life is highly associated with balancing paid work and the other activities, which are important to people. The work should not completely crowd out the other things, like time with family, participation in community activities, personal development and leisure.

4. The balance between work and family life is difficult for parents with young children and particularly difficult for single mothers. Without more flexible working arrangements from employers and assistance from government, a good balance becomes nearly impossible.

5. The purpose of this paper is to emphasize the importance of giving an opportunity to vulnerable groups, such as single mothers, to enter into the labour market, and to test the possibilities for participation and employment for single mothers, in comparison to married mothers. Whereas government policy has a significant influence on peoples balance between work and family life, the effect of the alteration of the transfer payments and benefits policy of 2002 – 2003 on the behaviour of single mothers in the labour market was also tested.

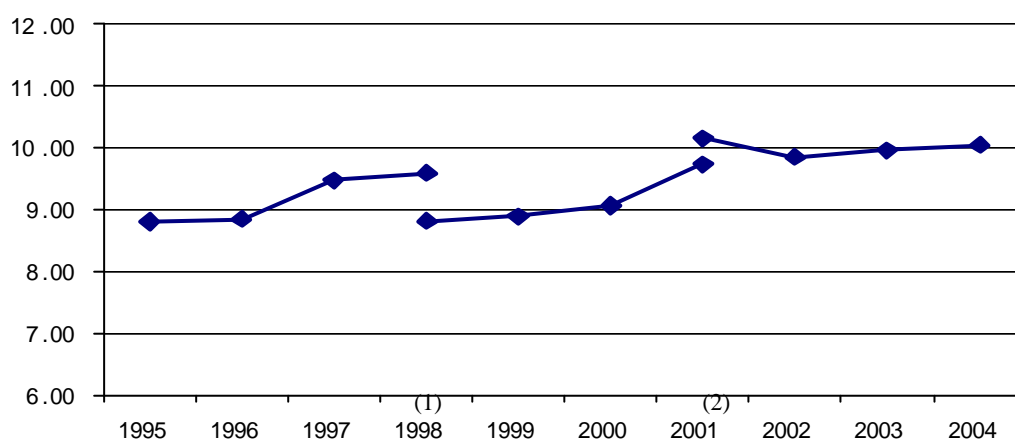
It is well known that women often have difficulty balancing family life and career. In fact, this is an important issue also for men. The interest is focused on the population in the Israeli Labour Market, mainly male, that usually work 50 hours and over a week. The Labour Force Survey 2001-2004 is a major source of data for this study.

II. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Employment for single mothers, in comparison to married mothers in the Israeli Labour Market

6. Single mother families have received a lot of attention from researchers and policy makers in recent years. This is partly attributable to the large increases in the prevalence of this type of family that took place in some developed countries during the past few decades (Gonzales, 2005). In Israel, the number of single parent families increased 3.8 times from the beginning of eighties. In 2004, it was about 100 thousand single-parent families, when about 90% of them were households headed by a female.

Figure 1: Single Mothers¹ as a proportion of total Mothers, 1995-2004 (%)

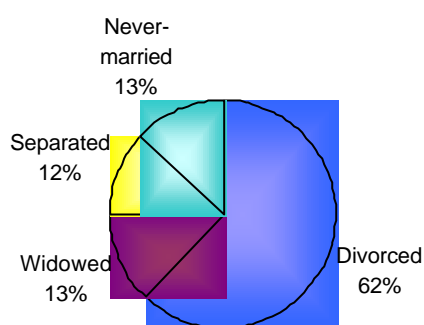


Notes: (1) Based on 1995 Census of Population and Housing estimates and on a new weighting system.
(2) Based on new weighting groups.

7. During the last 10 years, the proportion of single mothers was increased. The main components of such growth are changes in the family structure affected by increase in divorce rate and extra-marital births.

¹ Definition

Single mothers- Mothers for children less than 18 years of age, unmarried (never-married, divorcee, widowed, separated), without partners in the household.

Figure : Single Mothers by Marital Status, 2004 (%)

8. In 2004, the majority of Israeli single mothers were divorced (62 percent), while the rest was divided approximately equally among never married, separated and widowed. The proportion of never-married mothers increased from 8% in 1995 to 13% in 2004.

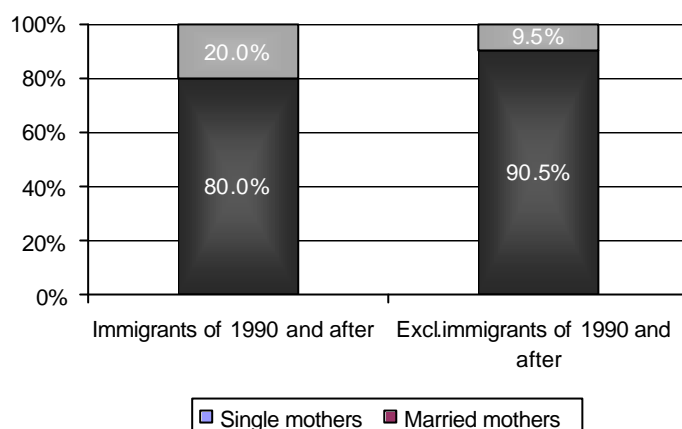
Table 2: Selected demographic Characteristics for Mothers by Marital Status, 2004(Averages)

	Age	Years of schooling	Number of children
Married mothers	36.8	13.0	2.4
Single mothers	39.6	12.7	1.7
Divorced	39.7	12.9	1.7
Widowed	45.0	10.9	2.0
Separated	38.6	13.0	2.0
Never-married	34.3	13.3	1.3

9. The average age of single mothers is 39.6 years old, relatively higher than for married mothers (36.8 years old). In comparison to married mothers, single mothers are less educated. More than half of single mothers have one child, while the median of number of children for one married mother is 2. In the same year, only for 5.2% of single mothers were mothers for 4 and more children, comparing with 17.7% for married mothers. In addition, approximately a half of single mothers have a child under 9 years old, comparing with 75% among married mothers. On the other hand, never-married mothers are younger (34.3 years old on average) than the other mothers. This population is more educated and has on average 13.3 years of schooling. Most of them have chosen single motherhood by themselves.

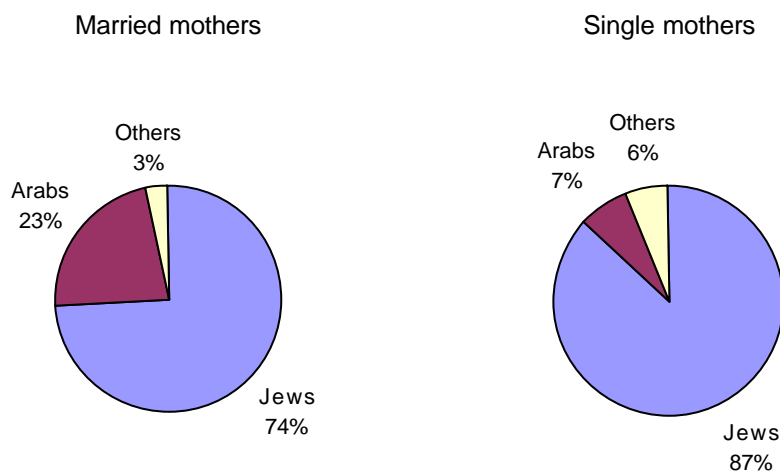
10. In Israel, an additional component of growth for single mothers ratio is the immigration from former USSR since 1990. In this immigrant population the rate of single mothers is twice as big as in the veteran population.

Figure : Jews, Single Mothers and Married Mothers by Year of immigration, 2004 (%)



11. As it shown in Figure 4, the proportion of Jewish married mothers in Israel is 74%, whereas the proportion of Jewish single mothers is 87% from total single mothers. In comparison, 23% of married mothers are Arab women and only 7% of the total single mothers.

Figure : Single Mothers and Married Mothers by nationality (population group), 2004 (%)



Notes: "Others": Not Jews are living in Jewish or mixed localities, and arrived in Israel in 1990 and after.

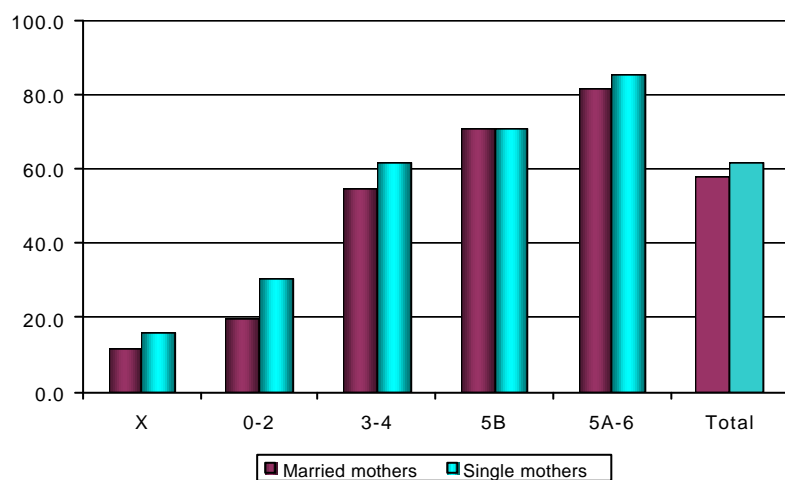
12. One of the most significant social and economic developments of the last few decades is a dramatic increase in the participation of mothers in the labor force, especially of the single mothers (Kimmel, 1998). For this group, there is an additional reason for work, since all responsibilities fall on one parent. As a result, the employment ratio for single mothers is higher than for married mothers. In 2004, the employment ratio was 61.6% for single mothers, comparing with 57.9% for married mothers (Shemesh, 2005).

13. Labor market conditions and benefit systems have a potential to influence the work decision of women. It is important to identify factors that influence the entrance of single mothers into the labor market, and to test the possibilities for participation and employment for single mothers, in comparison to married mothers. In addition, the effect of the alteration of the transfer payments and benefits policy of 2002 – 2003 was tested on the behavior of single mothers in labor

market. Until 2002 treatment policy aimed at preventing and alleviating poverty for this particularly vulnerable families¹, even at the cost of restrict is the entrance of single mothers into the labor market (Sussman and Frish, 2005). The policy succeeded to reduce the dimension of poverty, however single mothers are more likely to be dependent on public support (Flug and Kasir (Kaliner), 2006). From 2002-2003 the new program² was implemented with emphasis on significant reduction in payments and giving stimulus to entrance into the labor market. On the one hand, between 2001-2004 the transfer payments were reduced by 28.7% per month for single mothers with one child and by 32.2% per month for single mothers with two or more children. On the other hand, the program for integration of lone parents in the Labour Market, was implemented by the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor (Shalach, 2004). The purpose of this program was to give stimulus and encouragement for lone parents to work (by means of bonus for long parents, that increased his income from work, help for payment of child care, training programs) and to give to employers incentives to participant this population.

14. The statistical analysis was based on the Labour Force Surveys 2001 –2004 using the methods of logistic regression. The results³ suggest that most important factors influencing participation of mothers in the Civilian Labour Force are: the level of Education, the number of mother's own children and the age of youngest child.

Figure : Employment ratio for Single Mothers and Married Mothers by educational attainment, 2004 (%)



Notes: *ISCED 1997* levels X: No schooling; 0-2: Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education; 3-4: Upper secondary and post-secondary (non-tertiary) education; 5b : Tertiary education-programmers are oriented/occupationally specific; 5a-6: Tertiary education.

15. Figure 5 shows the impact of educational attainment on employment ratios for both single mothers and married mothers. The employment ratios of more educated mothers are higher than others, and increasing with increases in education level. It is correct for married mothers, as for single mothers. However employment ratios of less educated single mothers (levels X and 0-2) are relatively higher, in comparison to less educated married mothers. Furthermore single mothers with academic education are characterized with higher employment ratio (85.2%), while the employment ratio of married mothers is 81.7% in the same education level.

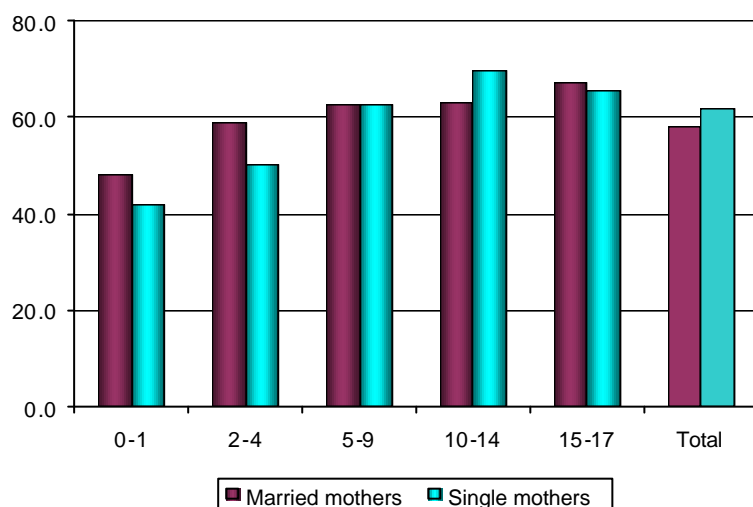
² In 2003, the poverty ratio in population of single mothers was 8.1 (Flug and Kasir (Kaliner), 2006).

³ National Insurance Institute, Statistical Quarterlies 2003, 2004 (Hebrew)

⁴ See Annex Tables 1, 2.

16. The strong connection between the increase in educational level and higher incomes gives economic incentives for work, together with the wish for personal realization and professional careers, and push the women to become part of the labour market (Shalach, 2004). The number of children and the age of the youngest child have impact on participation and employment of women in labour market. The less number of children helps women to make decisions to work out of the home. It is confirmed for single mothers, as well as for married (Jenkins, 1992).

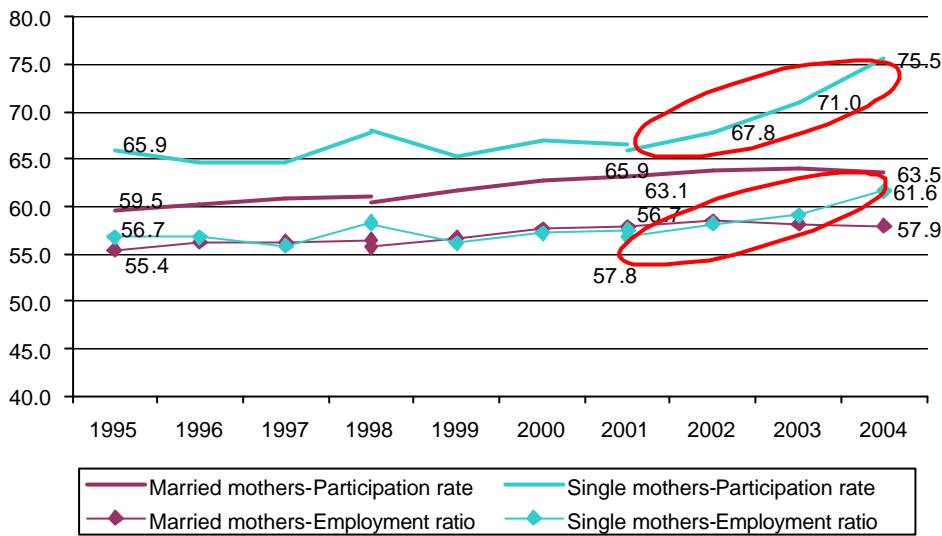
Figure 6: Employment ratio for Single Mothers and Married Mothers by age of youngest child, 2004 (%)



17. One of the important factors that influence the employment of mothers is the age of the youngest child. Figure 6 compares employment ratios for single and married mothers by age of the youngest child. The employment ratio for married mothers is higher, when the youngest child is 0-4 years old. As the youngest child grows, the trend is changes, and the employment ratios for single mothers are higher. Consequently, more and younger children reduce the probability of working (Gonzalez, 2004).

In the year 2004, predicted probabilities of labour force participation for single mothers did not differ from those for married mothers. However, the chances of single mothers to be employed were lower by 20%, in contrast to married mothers.

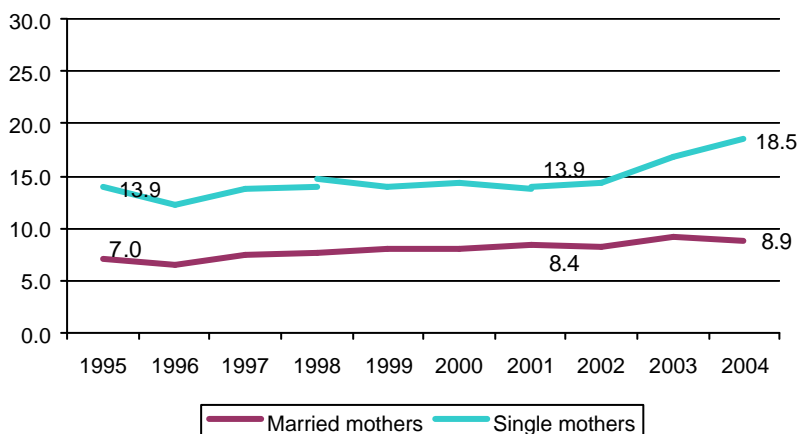
Figure 7: Labour force participation rate and Employment ratio for Single Mothers and Married Mothers, 1995-2004 (%)



18. The participation rate of single mothers was 65.9% in 1995, while the participation rate of married mothers were 59.5%, with a gap of 6.4% fell to 3.6% in 2001. The changes in policy of transfer payments and benefits were followed by large increases in the participation rate of single mothers. It was increased from 65.9% in 2001, and reached 75.5% in 2004. The participation rate of married mothers was relatively stable in this period. The results from the statistical analysis suggest that the probability for participation in the Civilian Labor Force for single mothers increased from 0.60 in 2001 (0.66 for married mothers in the same year) to 0.67 in 2004 and appear to be equal to probability for participation for married mothers (Shemesh, 2005).

19. In spite of the increasing employment ratio of single mothers from 57.8% in 2001 to 61.6% in 2004, in same period we see an increase in unemployment rate for single mothers. The percentage of unemployed single mothers reached 18.5% in 2004, compared with 13.9% in 2001 (Figure 8), to differ from married mothers that have increased in unemployment rate on 0.5% in these years.

Figure 8: Unemployment rate for Single Mothers and Married Mothers, 1995-2004 (%)



20. Consequently, the findings from the analysis for the period 2001-2004 suggest that the changes in policy of transfer payments and benefits affected positively participation rates of single mothers in the Civilian Labour Force. However, the big share of single mothers that join the labour market in this period didn't find work, but joined unemployed persons.

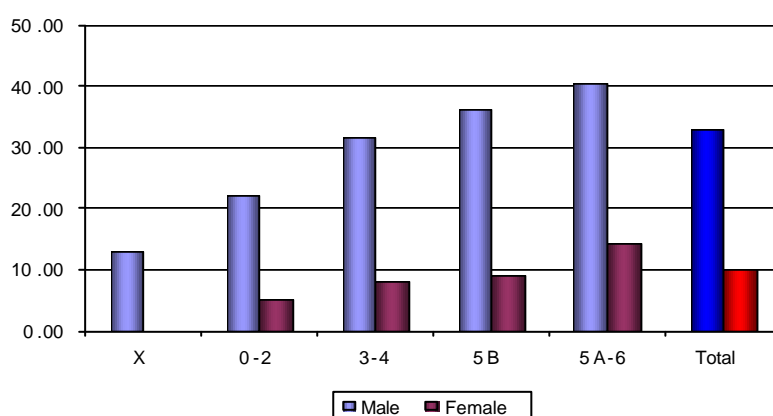
This work provides a significant contribution to understanding the pattern of behavior of single mothers in the Israeli Labor Market. Understanding the work-decision approaches of single mothers should help suggest policies for encouraging employment and preventing poverty for single mother families.

B. Excessive hours of work (Employed persons working 50 hours and over per week)

21. The research shows that a good balance between work and family life can affect a person socially, physically, mentally and emotionally. Serious health conditions such as stress, fatigue, mental illness and heart disease can all derive from working long hours (Pocock, 2001). Excessive hours are not a new phenomenon in Israel. There were not a lot of significant changes in the patterns of working excessive hours in the past ten years. In 2004, the proportion of employed persons that work 50 hours and over per week vs. total employment persons⁴ was approximately 23% (33% for men and 10% for women). On the other hand, parallel to the increase in workforce participation of mothers in the last decade (Shemesh, 2005), the part of the women in this population increased from 15.8% in 1995 to 19.8% in 2004.

22. Most of employed men that work 50 hours and over per week belong to age group 30-54 (Weston, Qu and Soriano, 2002). They represent approximately 38% of total employed men in this age group. For women, the main age groups are 25-29 and 45-54. It is conceivable that differences in main age working groups between men and women may be due to age of fertility of women.

Figure 9: Employed persons working 50 hours and over per week, as a proportion of all employed persons, by sex and educational attainment, 2004(%)

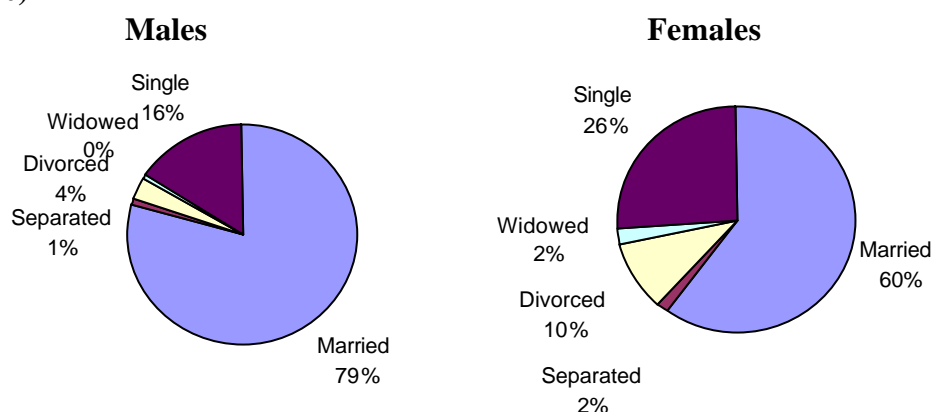


Notes: *ISCED 1997* levels X: No schooling; 0-2: Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education; 3-4: Upper secondary and Post-secondary (non-tertiary) education; 5b: Tertiary education-programmers are oriented/occupationally specific; 5a-6: Tertiary education.

⁴ This work focuses on population of employed persons, not including those who are temporarily absent from work during the determinant week.

23. Figure 9 illustrates the impact of educational attainment on work 50 hours and over per week for both women and men. Similarly for men, women with the higher education level have the higher proportion of the employed women working excessive hours.

Figure 10: Employed persons working 50 hours and over per week, by marital status and sex, 2004 (%)



24. Most of employed persons, who work 50 hours and over a week, are married. In addition, we can see the high percentage of single women in this population. The ratio of employed women, who work 50 hours and over per week depends on number of mother's own children and appears to be highest among women without children. Moreover, the increase in age of the youngest child had positive impact on the decision of mother to work long hours at work.

25. Mothers are less likely than fathers to work frequently at long hours at work, and their arrangements often reflected their preferences about reconciling work and family (La Valle, Arthur, Millward, Scott and Clayden, 2002). On the other hand, Hochschild (1997) reports that many fathers and particularly mothers of young children found their workplace more satisfying than their home environment.

1. Excessive working hours by industry

Table 3: Employed persons working 50 hours and over per week, as a proportion of all employed persons, by industry and sex, 2004 (%)

INDUSTRY	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture	41.7	20.7	38.0
Manufacturing (mining and industry)	35.8	17.0	30.5
Electricity and water supply	37.1	..	31.3
Construction (building and civil engineering projects)	27.6	..	26.0
Wholesale and retail trade and repairs	38.0	10.4	27.0
Accommodation services and restaurants	30.0	11.9	22.5
Transport, storage and communications	37.0	10.4	29.2
Banking, insurance and finance	32.4	8.9	18.0
Business activities	36.2	13.8	27.2
Public administration	34.4	13.6	25.4
Education	15.4	5.1	7.6
Health, welfare and social services	21.4	6.4	10.0
Community, social and personal services	24.3	11.0	17.8
Services for households by domestic personnel	..	8.8	9.5
TOTAL	32.9	9.9	22.6

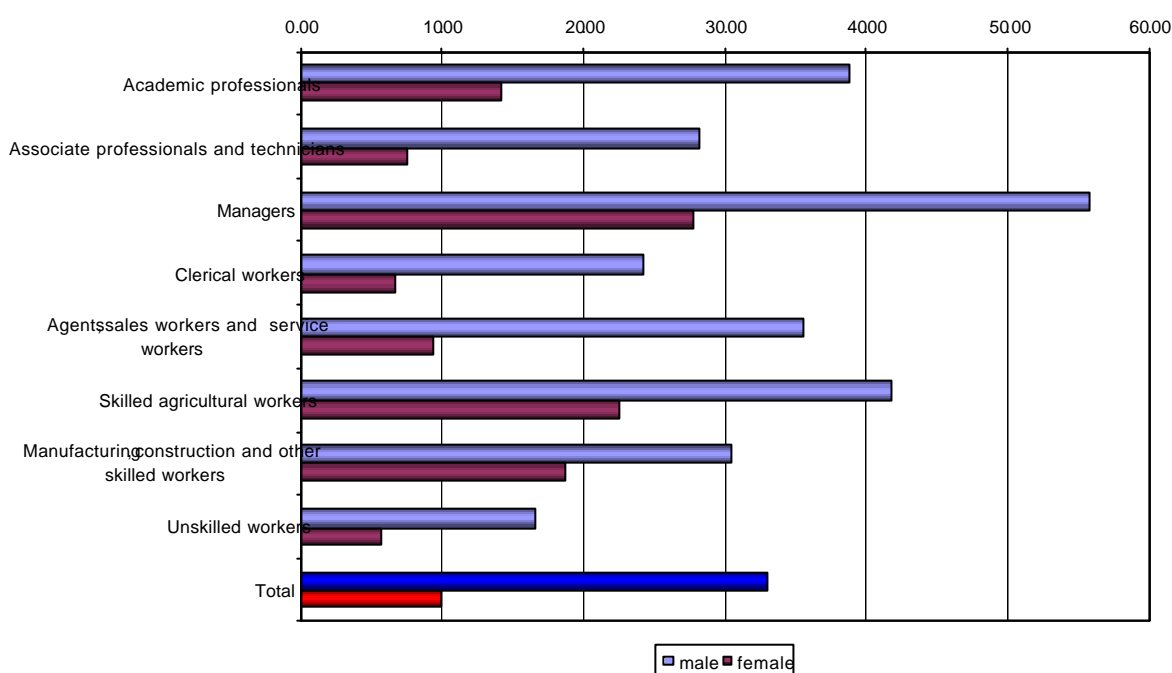
Notes: (1) (..) Not known or not for publication.

(2) Based on *International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities*, Third Revision, 1990.

26. Proportion of employed persons works 50 hours and over per week are comparatively high in Agriculture, Manufacturing (mining and industry), Construction, Transport, storage and communications, Business activities.

2. Excessive working hours by occupation

Figure 11: Employed persons working 50 hours and over per week, as a proportion of all employed persons, by sex and occupation 2004(%)



Notes: Based on *International Standard Classification of Occupations I.S.C.O. 88*.

27. Excessive working hours are prevalent in professional and managerial occupations. The proportion of managers employed 50 hours and over per week in his occupation reached 56% for men and 28% for women (Figure 11). In addition, self-employed persons have more freedom in choosing their work schedules and tend to work long hours. Moreover employers have a tendency to work more hours, with increases in number of salaried workers (Halevi, 2006).

28. The impact of excessive work hours on enjoyment of life is likely to be complex. According to Social Survey⁵, it was found that 84.1% of employees who work 50 hours and over per week are satisfied with their jobs, 52.8% of them are satisfied with their income and 52.3% are satisfied with their financial situation. In addition, no seen the significant deferent from persons employed less then 50 hours per week and those employed more hours. In conclusion, this work give some support for hypotheses that long working hours are related to high levels of human capital and the ideal worker norm and less support excessive hours of work for economic reasons.

⁵ Social Survey 2003, Central Bureau of Statistic, Israel.

29. Employed persons who can achieve a more satisfying balance between personal, family and work requirements and needs, will be able to be more supportive as partners, more effective as parents and more satisfied with their workplace.

The aim of national policy should be to enable persons with family responsibilities, who are engaged or wish to engage in employment, to exercise their right to do so without any conflict between their employment and family life.

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Annex

Definitions of Labour Force Surveys⁶

1. **Population** - the survey population includes the permanent (de jure) population of Israel aged 15 and over, including Jewish residents in Judea and Samaria, and Gaza areas and the Golan, potential immigrants and permanent residents living abroad for a period of less than one year. It does not include tourists and temporary residents unless they have been living in Israel continuously for more than a year.

2. The **determinant week** is the week ending on the Saturday preceding the visit of the interviewer to the household.

3. Characteristics of the civilian labour force

· **Weekly civilian labour force** - persons aged 15 and over who were “employed” or “unemployed” during the determinant week, according to the definitions given below.

· **Employed persons** - worked for at least one hour during the determinant week, at any type of work, for pay, profit or other remuneration; all those working in kibbutzim (whether in services or any other industry); family members who worked without pay for more than 15 hours during the investigation week; persons in institutions who worked more than 15 hours during the week, persons who were temporarily absent from their work.

Employed persons are divided into three sub-groups:

a. **Full-time workers** - all those who worked 35 hours or more during the determinant week (including preparation hours).

b. **Part-time workers** - persons who worked 1-34 hours during the determinant week (including preparation hours).

c. **Temporarily absent from work** - this group includes all those who were temporarily absent from their regular work during the entire determinant week, due to illness, vacation, reserve army service, reduction of the number of work hours, labour dispute, temporary disruption of work (for up to 30 days), etc. (The definition does not include persons who were absent for only part of the determinant week).

Note: Usually full-time / part-time workers – determined by the workers’ usual number of work hours (not in the determinant week).

· **Unemployed persons** - all those who did not work for even one hour during the determinant week and who actively sought work during the last four weeks, by registering with the Labour Exchange of the Employment Service or by application to employers, either in person or in writing, or by another method mentioned below, and could have started work in the determinant week, had suitable work been offered (“availability to work”).

4. **Work hours per week** - the number of hours actually worked by employed persons during the determinant week, including: overtime in the same place of work or in other places of work, preparation hours of teachers and artists, waiting hours (e.g. a driver or porter waiting for work), as well as work hours of a non-paid family member in the family business or farm (if the person worked 15 hours or more, on the average, per week).

⁶ From Definitions, Classifications and Explanations, Publication No. 1244, Labour Force Surveys 2003, Central Bureau of Statistics.

Table 1: Participation in civilian labour force for Mothers with demographic controls and time dummies.

Variables	2004		2004		2001-2004	
	Estimate	Odds Ratio	Estimate	Odds Ratio	Estimate	Odds Ratio
Age	0.298 **	1.347	0.271 **	1.312	0.266 **	1.305
Age2	-0.004 **	0.996	-0.004 **	0.996	-0.004 **	0.996
<i>Years of schooling</i>						
0-8	-1.207 **	0.299	-1.245 **	0.288	-1.317 **	0.268
9-12	-0.650 **	0.522	-0.648 **	0.523	-0.642 **	0.526
13-15	0.515 **	1.674	0.548 **	1.729	0.609 **	1.838
16+	1.064 **	2.897	1.082 **	2.951	1.192 **	3.293
<i>Number of mothers own children</i>						
1	1.190 **	3.288	1.096 **	2.992	1.111 **	3.037
2	1.058 **	2.880	0.954 **	2.596	0.936 **	2.549
3	0.810 **	2.247	0.727 **	2.069	0.699 **	2.011
<i>Age of youngest child</i>						
0-1	-1.044 **	0.352	-1.101 **	0.332	1.021 **	0.360
2-4	-0.406 **	0.666	-0.461 **	0.631	-0.427 **	0.653
5-9	-0.193 **	0.825	-0.216 **	0.806	-0.191 **	0.826
Jews and other	2.046 **	7.737	2.008 **	7.447	1.875 **	6.520
Single Mother	0.052	1.053	0.187 *	1.205		
Jerusalem District					-0.608 **	0.544
Domestic help			0.237 **	1.268	0.340 **	1.405
Immigrants of 1990-1994			0.222 **	1.249	0.150 **	1.162
Immigrants of 1995 and after			-0.386 **	0.680	-0.471 **	0.624
<i>District</i>						
Jerusalem District			-0.523 **	0.593		
Northern-Haifa District			0.124	1.131		
Central-Tel Aviv District			0.139	1.149		
Southern District			0.218 *	1.243		
Single Mother x Southern District			-0.603 **	0.547		
Single Mother x 2001					-0.362 **	0.696
Single Mother x 2002					-0.299 **	0.741
Single Mother x 2003					-0.142 *	0.868
Single Mother x 2004					0.121	1.128
2002					0.028	1.028
2003					0.064 *	1.066
2004					0.047	1.048
Constant	-6.592		-5.946		-5.810	
-2 Log Likelihood	15289.112		15104.179		62254.648	
Cox & Snell R Square	0.305		0.313		0.309	
N	16382		16382		66553	

** Significant at the 1% level.

* Significant at the 5% level.

Note: The table displays results from Logistic regressions where the dependent variable indicates whether a mother participate in civilian labour force or not.

Table 2: Employment for Mothers with demographic controls and time dummies.

Variables	2004		2004		2001-2004	
	Estimate	Odds Ratio	Estimate	Odds Ratio	Estimate	Odds Ratio
Age	0.268 **	1.307	0.268 **	1.307	0.242 **	1.274
Age2	-0.004 **	0.996	-0.004 **	0.996	-0.003 **	0.997
<i>Years of schooling</i>						
0-8	-1.278 **	0.279	-1.276 **	0.279	-1.308 **	0.270
9-12	-0.689 **	0.502	-0.690 **	0.502	-0.645 **	0.525
13-15	0.577 **	1.781	0.577 **	1.781	0.614 **	1.848
16+	1.087 **	2.965	1.087 **	2.965	1.168 **	3.216
<i>Number of mothers own children</i>						
1	0.946 **	2.575	0.946 **	2.576	0.941 **	2.563
2	0.846 **	2.330	0.845 **	2.328	0.801 **	2.228
3	0.653 **	1.922	0.653 **	1.921	0.644 **	1.904
<i>Age of youngest child</i>						
0-1	-0.967 **	0.380	-0.966 **	0.380	-0.894 **	0.409
2-4	-0.380 **	0.684	-0.380 **	0.684	-0.377 **	0.686
5-9	-0.249 **	0.780	-0.249 **	0.779	-0.196 **	0.822
Jews and other	1.580 **	4.856	1.579 **	4.851	1.533 **	4.630
<i>Marital status</i>						
Separated			-0.141	0.869		
Divorced			-0.230 **	0.794		
Widowed			-0.293	0.746		
Never-married			-0.256	0.774		
Single Mother	-0.230 **	0.795				
Jerusalem District					-0.437 **	0.646
Domestic help	0.500 **	1.648	0.500 **	1.648	0.538 **	1.713
Immigrants of 1990-1994	0.185 *	1.204	0.186 *	1.205	0.127 **	1.136
Immigrants of 1995 and after	-0.188 **	0.829	-0.187 **	0.830	-0.413 **	0.661
<i>District</i>						
Jerusalem District	-0.497 **	0.608	-0.498 **	0.608		
Northern-Haifa District	-0.068	0.934	-0.068	0.934		
Central-Tel Aviv District	-0.010	0.990	-0.011	0.989		
Southern District	-0.021	0.979	-0.022	0.978		
Single Mother x Southern District	-0.559 **	0.572	-0.555 **	0.574		
Single Mother x 2001					-0.458 **	0.633
Single Mother x 2002					-0.434 **	0.648
Single Mother x 2003					-0.368 **	0.692
Single Mother x 2004					-0.296 **	0.744
2002					0.027	1.028
2003					0.016	1.016
2004					0.150	1.015
Constant	-5.931		-5.928		-5.596	
-2 Log Likelihood	16963.363		16962.891		69123.175	
Cox & Snell R Square	0.276		0.276		0.275	
N	16382		16382		66553	

** Significant at the 1% level.

* Significant at the 5% level.

Note: The table displays results from Logistic regressions where the dependent variable indicates whether a mother employed or not.
